

So the argument seems to be that if we want this experiment to succeed, we should not put it in unnecessary jeopardy.

Mr. GRAHAM. I will add, if I may, the 3,000 number does not allow the missions that are obvious to most everybody who has looked at Iraq to be performed in a successful manner. That is the bottom line. That is why no one has thrown out 3,000 before. Can you do it with 10,000? That is where you are pushing the envelope. The Kurdish-Arab boundary dispute almost went hot. This new plan we have come up with to integrate the Peshmurga, the Iraqi security forces with some Americans, will pay dividends over time. Mr. President, 5,000 is what the American commander said he needed to continue that plan. We have a plan to even wind down that number. It is just going to take a while. When it comes to Iraq, I can tell you right now I would not want our American civilians to be without some American military support, given what I know is coming to Iraq from Iran.

Mr. MCCAIN. Could I mention one fundamental here? The question is: Is it in the United States national security interest to have these 10,000-plus American troops carrying out the missions we just described or is it not? If it is, then it is pure sophistry to say: Well, we would only consider this if the Iraqis requested it. If we are waiting for the Iraqis to request it, then it means it doesn't matter whether the United States is there.

I think the three of us and others—including General Odierno, General Petraeus, and the most respected military and civilian leadership—think it is in our national interest. The way this should have happened is the United States and the Iraqis sitting down together, once coming to an agreement, making a joint announcement that it is in both countries' national security interest. If it is not, then we should not send one single American there, not one.

Mr. GRAHAM. If the Senator will yield for a second, that is a good point. We have been asked to go by both administrations. The Iraqis have a political problem. That is not lost upon us. Most people in most countries don't want hundreds of thousands of foreign troops roaming around their country forever. So the Iraqis have been up-front with us. We want to continue the partnership, but it needs to be at a smaller level. They are absolutely right. I don't buy one moment that there is a movement in Iraq saying we will take 3,000, not 1 soldier more. I think what is going on here is there is, as Senator MCCAIN suggested, a number drives the mission, not the mission drives the number. At the end of the day, this 3,000 doesn't get any of the essential jobs done. It leads to 3,000 exposed. It leaves the thousands of civilians without the help they need. It leaves the Iraqi military in a lurch. There is no upside to this.

I would end with this thought: Let's get the missions identified and re-source them in an adequate way, and I think the country will rally around the President. I cannot think of too many Americans who would want our people to be in harm's way unnecessarily. If you leave one, you have some obligation to the one. Well, if you left one, you would be doing that person a disservice. Leave enough so we can get it right, and that number is far beyond 3,000.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I want to say in response to something Senator MCCAIN said, somebody in the military said to me: If we are not going to leave enough to do the job, we might as well not leave anybody there.

Of course, we don't want that to happen. There are a couple of alternatives here. One is that the 3,000 is not the number. Hopefully we will have clarification. It is more than that. In all our trips to Iraq, talking about repeated teams of leadership, never has there been anyone who said to us that we needed less than 10,000 American troops there to do this job. I want to repeat this; there is a kind of sleight of hand here. Maybe it is 3,000 here and a few more thousand tucked into the civilian workforce at the embassy and a few more somewhere in the special covert operators. If that is the game plan here, it is a mistake. We ought to see exactly how many troops are leaving there. It gives confidence to our allies in the region, particularly in Iraq, and it will unsettle our enemies, particularly in Iran.

Dr. Ken Pollack has a piece in the National Interest that is out now about this situation. He is concerned about the small number of troops that may be left there and agrees that there may be some Iraqis who might be pushing for a smaller post-2011 force with a more limited set of missions. Dr. Pollack says:

That would be a bad deal for the Iraqi people and for the United States. Our troops would be reduced to spectators as various Iraqi groups employ violence against one another. Moreover, if we have troops in Iraq but do nothing to stop bloodshed there, it would be seen as proof of Washington's complicity. If American forces cannot enforce the rules of the game, they should not be in Iraq, period, lest they be portrayed as contributing to the destruction of the country.

That is what we are saying.

The final point here is Dr. Pollack argues in this piece that the United States, if this is in response—giving the benefit of the doubt for a moment—to Iraqi political concerns, that the U.S. has the leverage to avoid this dangerous outcome. He writes:

America has the goods to bargain. The question is whether Washington will.

That is the question I believe my colleagues from Arizona and South Carolina are asking today: Will we bargain with our Iraqi allies that this is the problem to be able to work with them for another chapter to secure all we have gained together up until now?

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I appreciate your indulgence and yield the floor.

RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands in recess until 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:37 p.m. recessed until 2:15 p.m. and reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. CARDIN)

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

REMEMBERING SENATOR MARK O. HATFIELD

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, my home State of Oregon has many towering and majestic features, such as our iconic Mount Hood and our beautiful State tree, the Douglas fir. Senator Mark O. Hatfield, who passed away on August 7, stood head and shoulders above all of them.

Last night, the Senate passed S. Res. 257, a resolution in respect of the memory of Senator Hatfield. This afternoon, Senator MERKLEY and I, with colleagues of both parties, would like to reflect on the extraordinary legacy of our special friend, Senator Mark Hatfield.

For me, Senator Hatfield's passing this summer, just as it seems the Congress has become embroiled in a never-ending series of divisive and polarizing debates and battles, drove home that Senator Hatfield's approach to government is now needed more than ever in our country.

Senator Hatfield was the great reconciler. He was proud to be a Republican with strongly held views. Yet he was a leader who, when voices were raised and doors were slammed and problems seemed beyond solution, could bring Democrats and Republicans together. He would look at all of us, smile and always start by saying: "Now, colleagues," and then he would graciously and calmly lay out how on one issue or another—I see my friend, Senator COCHRAN from Mississippi, who knows this so well from their work together on Appropriations—it might one day be a natural resources question, it might one day be a budget issue or a health issue or an education issue, but Senator Hatfield had this extraordinary ability to allow both sides to work together so an agreement could be reached, where each side could achieve some of the principles they felt strongly about. They would not get

them all, but they would get a number of them. That, of course, is the key to what is principled bipartisanship.

It was not very long ago, it seems, when Senator Hatfield walked me down that center aisle, when I had the honor of being selected Oregon's first new Senator in almost 30 years. I remember coming to the Senate, a new Senator, and watching Senator Hatfield at work. Sometimes he would be with Senator Kennedy and a big flock of the Senate's leading progressives, and sometimes he would shuttle over to visit with Senator Dole and a big group of conservatives. Somehow the public interest was addressed.

The question then becomes: How did he do it? What was the Hatfield approach all about? To me, Senator Hatfield was religious, but he was never intolerant. He was idealistic, but he was never naive. He was willing to stand alone but never one to grandstand.

But it was not his public life that shaped his belief and his principles. Those were forged in the most hellish of places: World War II in the Pacific. As a landing craft officer in the U.S. Navy, Senator Hatfield witnessed firsthand the battles at Iwo Jima and Okinawa. He was one of the first Americans to see the devastating effects of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima.

Later, he served in French Indochina, where he saw the economic disparities that would later lead to war in Southeast Asia. Those images remained with him throughout his life, acting as a touchstone for his belief that the world should be a safer and more peaceful place. It was Senator Hatfield's beliefs—those beliefs—that served as the foundation for his career in the Senate and for his opposition to the Vietnam war and to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Senator Hatfield was a major player on the national stage. At the same time, he never forgot our home State or strayed very far from his approach of trying to bring people together. I see our friend, Senator ALEXANDER, on the floor, who also has had a lot of experience on natural resources issues.

I can tell my friends on both sides of the aisle that watching Senator Hatfield champion the need for family-wage jobs in the forest products sector, while at the same time being a champion of environmental protections of wilderness areas and scenic rivers, was like a classroom in the effort to come up with sound public policy.

When colleagues come to our home State, they will have an opportunity to go to the Columbia River Gorge, a special treasure. We had a big anniversary recently on the anniversary of the Columbia Gorge National Scenic Area. Senator MERKLEY and I were there. That never could have happened without that unique ability of Senator Hatfield to bring people together, and he went into every nook and cranny of our State, communities that barely were bigger than a fly speck on the map. He would make their roads better and

their schools better and their health care better, again by bringing people together.

I know colleagues are waiting. I would simply wrap up by saying that my State has lost a great son. The Senate has lost one of its former giants. Our Nation has lost a man who represented honesty and decency in public service. I will never, ever forget how much Senator Hatfield has meant to my home State of Oregon.

I note Senator MERKLEY is here who served as one of Senator Hatfield's interns as well as Senator ALEXANDER and Senator COCHRAN. I think we have, through the graciousness of Senator REED and Senator MCCONNELL, time for all our colleagues.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon is recognized.

Mr. MERKLEY. Mr. President, I rise today to commemorate a statesman and a mentor, Senator Mark O. Hatfield. He took many roles: dedicated public servant, conscientious man of faith, and pioneer for new development in the West. He was born in 1922 in Dallas, OR, a small town not far from our capital, Salem, to a family of modest means. His father was a blacksmith and his mother was a schoolteacher. When he was young, his family then actually moved to the State capital, which gave him a chance, as a teenager, to work as a guide in the State capitol building and to imagine returning one day as a public leader.

He proceeded to study at Willamette University in Salem. During his freshman year, events took a dramatic turn with the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941. Senator Hatfield joined the Reserves and accelerated his studies, so he completed his degree in 1943 and joined the Navy. He proceeded as a naval officer and fought in Okinawa and Iwo Jima, and he saw the devastating aftermath of the atomic bomb at Hiroshima, an imprint that, along with his State, caused him to struggle with the appropriate and moral use of force throughout his life in public service. In his own words:

In the war's immediate aftermath, one vivid experience made the profoundest impression on me. I was with a Navy contingent who were among the first Americans to enter Hiroshima after the atomic bomb had been dropped. Sensing, in that utter devastation, the full inhumanity and horror of modern war's violence, I began to question whether there can be any virtue in war.

He elaborates on this process of questioning, this process of challenging, in his book "Conflict and Conscience." In terms of the Vietnam war, he concluded that it did not meet the Christian theologians' test for a just war. After the war, Hatfield went back to Oregon and he started a law degree, but he changed course after a year. He decided instead to pursue a master's in political affairs, and he went to Stanford and completed that master's and came back to Oregon. He started teaching at Willamette University, and in short order he was running for the Or-

egon House, in 1950, first elected at the age of 28, and then Secretary of State 6 years later at the age of 34, and Governor 2 years later at the age of 36. Through these experiences, Senator Hatfield developed the ability to chart his own course, to determine and follow his own convictions. In 1964, he championed an initiative to outlaw the death penalty. That ballot measure passed, and Governor Hatfield then commuted the sentences of those on death row.

In 1965, in July, he was the one Governor at the National Governors Association to vote against the resolution endorsing the Vietnam war.

In 1995, he proceeded to oppose the balanced budget amendment, and as the Senate historian, Don Ritchie, observed, "It was one of the most courageous votes I had ever seen. He knew he was sacrificing his chairmanship and his position as a Senator. Few knew then that Senator Hatfield had offered to resign."

Senator Hatfield also worked hard to build core institutions in Oregon. He was a champion of Oregon Health and Sciences University and built it into a fabulous institution of research and learning. The Mark O. Hatfield School of Government carries on his legacy of leadership, conveying those principles to young leaders who are dispersing throughout the public policy arena. The Marine Science Center in Newport, a tremendous research facility, continues to yield benefits, including setting the foundation for the recent location of NOAA'S research fleet in the city of Newport.

He was an intense advocate of medical research, and he championed NIH, where a building now bears his name. He was a champion for the U.S. Institute of Peace. He felt if there were academies that studied war, there should be academies to study peace and reconciliation.

In 1975, he introduced the George Washington Peace Academy Act to further the understanding of the process and state of peace among nations, to consider the dimensions of peaceful resolutions of differences, to train students and to inform government leaders in the process of peaceful resolutions. It took 9 years, but this effort which began as the George Washington Peace Academy Act ended in the establishment of the U.S. Institute of Peace in 1984.

As my senior colleague mentioned, he championed many efforts to protect Oregon's precious wilderness. One of his final projects was to protect Opal Creek, which has been described as 6,800 acres of virgin old growth, the largest span remaining in western Oregon. He said about this:

It is an inspiration. It is a place of educational and spiritual renewal and exploration. To walk among the centuries old fir, hemlock, and cedar inspires tremendous awe and instills, I think, a perspective unlike itself.

My own connection to Senator Hatfield began in 1976, in the spring of that

year, when I went to Salem to meet with Jerry Frank, Senator Hatfield's legendary Chief of Staff, to interview for a possible summer internship in Senator Hatfield's DC office. I will be eternally grateful to Jerry Frank and Senator Hatfield for offering me that internship, for that opportunity to come to our Nation's capital to see government in action. My first responsibility was to open the mail. When you open the mail, you start to understand the dimension, the breadth of political opinion in the breadth of a State.

How readily did many constituents attack Senator Hatfield's Christian faith because they disagreed with him on some policy position. I opened so much mail that said: Hi, my policy position is this and yours is different. So how can you be a man of Christian faith?

Indeed, Senator Hatfield started his book "Conflict and Conscience" with just this dimension, a politicization of religion. He puts in it a number of letters that he received. One reads:

Dear Mr. Hatfield,

Your encouragement of antiwar demonstrations and the riots that have come from such demonstration are in fact treason for they give comfort and aid to our enemies.

I and a lot of other Christian people are extremely disappointed in your performance in the Senate, for you who claim to be a Christian and have access to our Almighty God should have a better understanding of human nature and the evil in the human heart.

Senator Hatfield talked about the challenge of being a public man of faith and working to take those principles and convert them to public policy in the face of hostility coming from the left or the right. But it was his determination to stay that course, to continue to be a person of reflection and depth in the pursuit of public policy.

That summer, I was assigned to the Tax Reform Act of 1976. The great joy that I had was that it happened to come up on the floor that summer. Back then, before there was television in this Chamber, before there was e-mail, you would come to the floor, if you were working on an issue, and go up to the staff gallery and follow debate, and you would rush down with the other staffers to meet your Senator coming out of the elevators just outside those double doors. Because there were lots of amendments, I got to meet with the Senator many times to describe the debate on the floor here, and to fill in what folks back home were saying about the particular issue at hand.

Then, occasionally, the timing being just right, we would have a chance to walk back and forth. Senator Hatfield loved to walk back and forth outside in the sunshine under the trees between the Capitol and his office in the Russell Office Building. It was while observing those debates that I saw the Senate at its best. There was an amendment from the right side of the aisle that was debated and discussed and voted on an

hour and a half later. Then there was an amendment from the left side of the aisle. The amendments were on the issue at hand, such as different tax strategies, and often they were bipartisan in nature. Indeed, you saw that our Senators at that time—most of whom had served in World War II together—could disagree without demonizing each other. This is a tremendously important facet of the Senate that has been lost over the decades since. Indeed, there were many friendly debates between Republicans and Democrats.

My father, Darrell, was a mechanic, and he had one of these debates with his boss who owned the company. When I was offered the internship with Senator Hatfield, Jerry called my father and said, Darrell, I won the debate because Senator Hatfield will work to make JEFF a good Republican. My dad said, no, no, no, I won the debate because JEFF will work to make Senator Hatfield a good Democrat. Neither of us would have broached such a topic.

The conversation wasn't about Democrats and Republicans. It was about the challenges at hand and how you resolve them. It was from that summer that I developed a lifelong admiration for Senator Hatfield and his model of public service. Here is what Senator Hatfield had to say about public calling:

Political service must be rooted in a philosophy of society's overall well-being, with a broad vision of how the body politic serves the people through its corporate structures. The heart of one's service in the political order must be molded by ideals, principles, and values that express how we, in the words of the Constitution, are "to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the General Welfare, and secure the Blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

He continued:

Political service must flow out of such a commitment. Convictions about war and peace, about the priorities governing the expenditure of Federal funds, about the patterns of economic wealth and distribution, about the Government's responsibility toward the oppressed and dispossessed both in our land and throughout the world, about our Nation's system of law and justice, and about the meaning of human liberty—these should be at the core of one's desire to seek public office.

It was because of my admiration for Senator Hatfield that when I became Speaker of the Oregon House in 2007, I called him and asked if he would consider coming to swear me in when I took the oath of office. He readily agreed to do so. That was the last public event that my father was at before he passed away. It was one of Senator Hatfield's last major public events.

I so much appreciated the symbolism of a Republican and a Democrat coming together at that moment, and sought to help guide the Oregon House, the same Chamber where Senator Hatfield started his political career to solve Oregon's problems.

It is because of my admiration for Senator Hatfield that when I came to

this Chamber I asked for Senator Hatfield's desk. There are 14 names carved into the desk drawer in his desk. The 13th is Senator Hatfield's. As I looked at the names, I was surprised to discover this desk had never crossed the aisle before. So I think it is symbolic of Senator Hatfield's career of public service, focused on solving problems and working together across the aisle, that his desk made that journey to where it is now.

During those walks back and forth between here and the Russell Senate Office Building, Senator Hatfield paused one day to pull the leaf off a Ginkgo tree. He said: JEFF, this is one of the simplest of God's creations. Why is it that folks can't see the beauty of God's creation in the very simplest of one of his plants?

I held that leaf tightly in my hand, determined to preserve it. Just as we got back to the office, he plucked it out of my hand and said: Well, of course, you don't want to continue to carry that leaf. I didn't have the courage at that moment to say: No, I would treasure that leaf all my life, and then grab it back from him. So I don't have the leaf, but I take that memory of his deep personal faith and conviction.

I was sharing this story with another intern who served with Senator Hatfield in 1985, and he said: Well, let me tell you another story about a tree and Senator Hatfield. On this walk between the Capitol and the Russell Senate Office Building there is a tree that Senator Hatfield planted. It is a Metasequoia tree. It so happens the Metasequoia used to grow throughout Oregon millions of years ago. When people found the fossils and studied them, they concluded the tree was extinct—until the 1940s when they found a stand of Metasequoias growing in China.

Senator Hatfield arranged to have one of these trees planted in that walk. It so happens in 2005, when I was House Democratic leader in Oregon, we passed a bill that made the Metasequoia tree the fossil of Oregon, but we didn't know about this tree Senator Hatfield had planted. But there it is today. It is now 25 years old. It sheds its needles every winter, so people think it is a fir tree that has died. But it comes roaring back to life in the spring.

Now, 25 years into its life, it is equal to the highest of the broad leaf trees on the grounds of the Capitol. In another 25 years the Hatfield tree is going to soar over these Capitol grounds. In so doing, it is going to represent the values he fought for—the courage of one's convictions, the effort to get beyond the bumper stickers and into the nitty-gritty of issues, and to come to a conscientious decision that will take our Nation forward, the determination to be oriented toward solving problems and not to a partisan divide.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, would my colleague yield?

Mr. MERKLEY. Certainly.

Mr. WYDEN. I appreciate that, and I certainly don't want to interrupt his very eloquent remarks.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the time for tributes to former Senator Hatfield be extended until 3:30 so that my friend and colleague can speak, as well as Senators LEAHY, ALEXANDER, COCHRAN, BINGAMAN, and LEVIN, who all wish to speak.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MERKLEY. Mr. President, I have just one closing comment, and that is this: This is a picture of the Senator Hatfield tree. It has my staff in front of it. We went out there on July 12, Senator Hatfield's birthday, to take this picture and we hoped to give this to him. We didn't have a chance to do that before he passed away. But I think this tree will serve as a living reminder of all that he championed throughout his tremendous career. We have lost a great man, and our Senate and our Nation are poorer for it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, let me speak a little bit about Mark Hatfield, because those of us who knew Mark thought the world of him. I had an opportunity to know him and to serve with him, and for 23 years I served with him in the Senate.

I rise to pay tribute to Mark as a dedicated public servant and a respected lawmaker, a man whom I liked to call my friend, and I think virtually everybody serving during that time, Republican and Democrat alike, considered him a friend.

He dedicated nearly his entire life to public service. He served in the U.S. Navy during World War II. He took part in the battles of Iwo Jima and Okinawa. He taught political science in Oregon at Willamette College for 7 years. He served in the Oregon State legislature. He served two terms as Governor. I remember him smiling when somebody would see him in the corridors and call him Governor. He became Oregon's longest serving Senator. He served five terms in the Senate.

Unfortunately, Mark was one of a dying breed in politics today. He was an old-fashioned Senator and a political moderate. He came from a brand of Senators that included names such as Bob Stafford and George Aiken, both from Vermont. Oregon, like my State, prizes independence in their elected officials, and he was certainly never afraid to buck his party. From his opposition to the war in Vietnam to his early support for the Endangered Species Act and federally protected wilderness, Mark showed us all that he was ruled only by the people of Oregon and his conscience.

A true compassion for people drove many of Mark's decisions. After being one of the first American servicemen to see the destruction and carnage of Hiroshima following the atomic bombing, he later declared his leadership in the campaign to pass the 1987 nuclear

weapons test ban, one of his major accomplishments.

Having a father with Alzheimer's disease and other family members with cancer, Mark became one of the strongest Senate advocates of Federal spending on medical research. He also supported prohibiting the sale of arms to undemocratic countries and countries that did not respect human rights.

Spending 8 years as the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, Mark Hatfield did an amazing amount of good for his State of Oregon. In fact, it is hard to travel in the State of Oregon without seeing the differences he made.

Senator Hatfield was always known for his courteousness. Despite his independent streak, he had complete respect on both sides of the aisle. More than once I was there, and my two colleagues from Oregon on the floor know this, when people would come up to him and call him "Saint Mark."

It is important to remember that despite the squabbling that goes on in Washington these days, there are politicians who care deeply about the well-being of their colleagues in their State.

On a personal note, when I came to the Senate, I was No. 99 in seniority. Actually, there were only 99 of us in the Senate because there had been a tied race in New Hampshire. So I was the junior most Senator, sitting way over in the corner seat. Several of the more senior Senators reminded me how junior I was. I received a handwritten note, which I still have, from a Senator who wrote: When I came to the Senate, I was No. 99. But you move up. You move up quickly in seniority. He said: My door is always open to you. Let me know what I can do to help.

That Senator was Mark Hatfield. We became friends from that moment. I did go to him for advice. Marcelle and I traveled with him and Antoinette in numerous parts of the world. I can still remember the laughter on the plane. We would talk about everything—everything from children to politics, to sports, to whatever.

What a wonderful person. He was a public servant. He was a statesman. He was a friend. I consider myself fortunate to have known him, but especially to have served with him. This Senate was a better place with Mark Hatfield.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, before he leaves the floor, let me thank Chairman LEAHY for his kind and gracious thoughts. I know Senator Hatfield was very fond of the Senator as well. You have represented his values very well. I thank the Senator for those remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mark Hatfield was elected to the Senate in 1966. It was a distinguished class that included some prominent Republicans, sort of a new wave in the Republican Party. In addition to Governor Hatfield, a former two-term Governor, there was Charles

Percy of Illinois, former President of Bell & Howell; there was Ed Brooke of Massachusetts, the first African American popularly elected to the Senate.

Also in that Republican class were Cliff Hansen, a prominent rancher from Wyoming, and a young man who was a son-in-law of then-Republican leader, Everett Dirksen, Howard H. Baker, Jr.

I hitched a ride with Howard Baker to Washington, DC, in that year and went to work as Baker's legislative assistant in 1967, and, of course, had a chance to meet Senator Hatfield. At that time, there was less space for Senators than there is even today. So new Senators were put into rooms with each other. For example, Senator Baker and Senator Brooke and all their staffs were put in a single room, separated only by a partition.

They got along with that for 6 months. But Senator Hatfield did not like it very much. After all, he had been a Governor for two terms and was not used to being treated in that way. He was polite about it, as he always was. But soon he made a mission. He went around the Senate and the Capitol and he counted up all the rooms that then-Senator James Eastland of Mississippi had taken to himself. He found 34 different rooms that were assigned to Senator Eastland and only half a room was assigned to Hatfield.

Senator Hatfield then reported to the Republican conference that Eastland had 34 rooms and that apparently someone was living in one of the rooms because someone from Restaurant Associates was putting a tray of food outside the door of this room in the Capitol and every morning two arms would come out and bring the food in.

This was Senator Hatfield's first report to the Senate. I saw him about 25 years later, when he was chairman of the Appropriations Committee and had a lot of power. I said: Senator Hatfield, how many rooms do you have now? He just smiled. My guess is he probably had 34.

But what I remember about Senator Hatfield, as a very young aide, was how unfailingly courteous he was to every single person. If you caught his attention, you had his full attention. It is easy to see why he was elected to the Senate for 30 years. It is easy to see why he won 11 elections.

Of course, the other reason, he was so interesting. He was a Baptist. He was a Libertarian. He was a great friend of Billy Graham. He was pro-life, not just on abortion but on the death penalty as well. He was antiwar. He was antibalanced budget. He was an interesting, independent, decent man. I simply wanted to say, from the vantage point of someone who feels privileged to serve in the Senate, what an impression this man from Oregon made on a 26-year-old young aide to Howard Baker in 1967.

I remember him for his courtesy, his decency, and for his independence.

I yield the floor.

Mr. MERKLEY. Mr. President, I applaud my colleague from Tennessee. I

appreciate him coming to make comments about his service with Senator Hatfield. When I was first coming to the Senate, Senator Hatfield asked me to bring greetings to his former colleagues. One of the first conversations I was able to have was to sit down with Senator LAMAR ALEXANDER who, like Senator Hatfield, served as a Governor, and who embodies so many of the qualities Senator Hatfield worked to cultivate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, today, the Senate mourns the death of the former United States Senator of the State of Oregon, Mark Odom Hatfield. He was elected to the Senate in 1966, and served for 30 years until his retirement.

The U.S. Senate lost one of its most talented and successful Senators when Mark Hatfield retired from this body.

It was a pleasure for me to serve on the Appropriations Committee when he became Chairman and to learn from his example of courtesy to others and his polite but unapologetic adherence to his personal views and convictions, even when they may have differed from those of others.

His service reflected great credit on the United States Senate.

Senator Hatfield was a tireless and effective advocate for serious reforms aimed at improving the quality of life for all Americans and addressing what he called "the desperate human needs in our midst." During the 1980s, he effectively used his Appropriations Chairmanship to champion a wide range of issues from human rights to improvements in health and education programs and environmental and conservation issues; and he got results.

Senator Hatfield's strength of character and commitment to doing the right thing, according to his conscience, whatever the consequences, was widely admired.

His contributions through his lifetime of dedicated service in Oregon and our Nation's capital are impressive, and will be long respected.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an outline of Senator Hatfield's legislative accomplishments.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FORMER SENATOR MARK HATFIELD'S
LEGISLATIVE HIGHLIGHTS

Served five terms as a United States Senator for Oregon making him the longest serving U.S. Senator from Oregon. (1967–1997) Twice served as chairman of the Appropriations Committee (1981–1987 and 1995–1997)

As chairman and later ranking Republican on the Senate Appropriations Committee, Senator Hatfield steered millions of dollars to public works projects in Oregon. They ranged from national scenic areas and hydro-power dams to the state university system and the Marine Science Center that bears his name. Senator Hatfield fought earnestly throughout his career for environmental protection and conservation, including reforest-

ation, the development of alternative energy, and pollution control. He was a longtime defender of Native American tribes, serving on the Indian Review Commission to protect treaty rights on tribal lands.

Senator Hatfield quadrupled Oregon's wilderness areas to more than two million acres and worked successfully to protect the Columbia River Gorge, the Oregon Dunes and Oregon's rivers. During his last session of Congress, Hatfield helped preserve the Opal Creek Wilderness from logging. He also generously funded a wide variety of civic, academic and environmental programs.

Senator Hatfield restored funding for the National Institutes of Health and secured appropriations for the improvement of the Oregon Health & Sciences University, now a leading U.S. research institution. In a hushed congressional hearing room in 1990, he pleaded for increased money for Alzheimer's research while describing how the disease had reduced his father, a powerfully built former blacksmith, to a "vegetable."

His unwavering commitment to peace and matters of national security were heavily influenced by his experiences as a young naval officer in World War II. He manned a landing craft during the invasion of Iwo Jima in 1944 and then became one of the first Americans to see the devastation in Hiroshima the following year. Senator Hatfield believed that lasting national security is not achieved through military might exclusively, but only possible when people have access to education, health care, housing and job opportunities.

In 1970 with Senator George McGovern (D-South Dakota), he co-sponsored the McGovern-Hatfield Amendment, which called for a complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

In the 1980s, Hatfield co-sponsored nuclear weapons freeze legislation with Senator Ted Kennedy. He also advocated for the closure of the N-Reactor at the Hanford Nuclear Reservation, though he was a supporter of nuclear fusion programs. The N-Reactor was used for producing weapons grade plutonium while producing electricity.

Because of his opposition to what he viewed as excessive defense spending and an unnecessary military buildup under President Reagan, Senator Hatfield was the lone Republican to vote against the 1981 fiscal year's appropriations bill for the Department of Defense.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I am honored to join with my colleagues in saying a few words about our former colleague, Mark Hatfield.

At the time I came to the Senate, Mark Hatfield had already served for 16 years. For the next 14 years we were colleagues and friends in the Senate. His retirement in 1997 was an occasion for regret for all of us who knew him and admired him. He set a very high standard for service in the Senate.

He was a master of the complex spending and tax issues that are the weekly focus of most Senate work. Of course, in his role as chairman of the Appropriations Committee, he was respected and appreciated for his fair-minded consideration of requests from all Senators—Democrat and Republican and Independent. He was a model of civility and of kindness, and he took a genuine interest in the well-being of those with whom he worked, both Senators and staff and all of those who worked to keep the Senate functioning.

He had a heartfelt commitment to seeking nonmilitary solutions to our Nation's problems around the world, and his votes—including his votes against the Vietnam War—reflected that strongly held commitment.

It was not in Mark Hatfield's nature to be a demagogue on any issue. He saw no advantage, political or otherwise, in twisting issues. The pandering and posturing that afflict much of our political debate today were not part of the politics he practiced.

I considered Mark both a mentor and a friend during the time he served in the Senate and when I was able to serve with him. He has been greatly missed since his retirement from the Senate, and now, of course, our sense of loss is even greater.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I come to the floor today to pay tribute to the life and the public service of Mark Hatfield.

Mark Hatfield began his lifelong career of public service in the U.S. Navy during World War II. After the war he returned to Oregon where he served in the State house of representatives, in the State senate, as the Oregon secretary of state, and eventually as Governor of the State. Fortunately for us—for the Senate and for the country—Mark Hatfield did continue his career of public service and went on to serve five terms in the U.S. Senate.

During his time in the Senate, Mark Hatfield repeatedly demonstrated he possessed the courage of his convictions. We have heard that word "courage" used this afternoon by Oregon Senators and others as it relates to Mark Hatfield, and there are so many examples of that courage, including an unpopular position he took relative to the Vietnam war. But in 1995 he opposed the balanced budget constitutional amendment, which was then under consideration by the Senate. It was a difficult position then to take as it is today. But he followed the courage of his convictions, and this is what he said about the constitutional amendment they were debating in the Senate back in 1995:

A balanced budget can come only through leadership and compromise. This compromise must come from each one of us. . . . In the end there is no easy answer, and there never will be. Regardless of the procedural restraint in place, where there is political will to create a balanced budget we will create one. Where there is a will to avoid one, we will avoid it. . . . A vote for this balanced budget constitutional amendment is not a vote for a balanced budget, it is a vote for a fig leaf.

Mark Hatfield said it as he believed it, straight from the shoulder—courageously and direct. He did so in regard to many other issues.

From the vantage point of the Appropriations Committee, Senator Hatfield was able to champion causes near and dear not only to his heart but near and dear to the hearts of so many Americans. Among these causes was medical

research. Senator Hatfield was such an effective supporter of medical research that in 2005–8 years after his retirement from the Senate—the National Institutes of Health opened the Mark Hatfield Clinical Research Center in honor of his career-long support of medical research.

How well I personally remember, as a member of the FDR Memorial Commission, how Mark Hatfield joined DANNY INOUE, his cochairman, to finally lead us to build the long overdue memorial to one of America's greatest Presidents.

Today, the Senate mourns the passing of Senator Hatfield. How vividly those of us who had the pleasure of serving with him remember him. My wife Barbara and my deepest sympathies go out to Mark's wife Antoinette, to their family, and to their friends. As the Senate honors his extraordinary career, we can all take inspiration from his willingness to join with colleagues of both parties to achieve enduring goals.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues in remembering Senator Mark Hatfield, an extraordinarily good man, a man of dignity and integrity. I didn't have the opportunity to serve with him in the Senate, but he chaired the Senate Appropriations Committee when I was a member of the House Appropriations Committee, so oftentimes we would come together in conference on a given issue, and I admired him greatly.

Mark Hatfield was an independent man throughout his public career. He was a man of civility and deep faith, a devout evangelical Christian. He was a Republican who believed government could be a force for good.

During the course of my statement, I will read some comments by Senator Mark Hatfield, and those who are following this should pause and reflect that his was once a major voice in the Republican Party. Unfortunately, few, if any, voices such as his can be heard today. I hope there are those who are listening who will take heart that it is consistent with Republican principles to stand for the values of Mark Hatfield.

Announcing his retirement from the Senate in 1995, Mark Hatfield said:

As a young man I felt the call of public service and believed in the positive impact government can have on the lives of people. Government service has allowed me to promote peace, protect human life, enhance education, safeguard our environment, improve the health care of Oregonians, and guard the rights of the individual.

As I said, though I didn't have the honor of actually serving in the Senate with Mark Hatfield, we shared a common hero. If a person visited his Hart Office Building suite and went to his conference room, they would see the most amazing display of memorabilia and tributes to Abraham Lincoln I have seen anywhere outside of my hometown of Springfield, IL. One whole wall in Senator Hatfield's office was

covered with a collection of Abraham Lincoln paintings, photographs, and memorabilia. His fascination with Lincoln began when he was in grade school and he first learned about the evil of slavery and the leadership Lincoln provided in abolishing it.

Sometimes at night, Mark Hatfield said to a reporter, he liked to quietly slip down to the Lincoln Memorial to meditate. "It's like a cathedral," he said. "People come in talking loudly, but then they go up the steps, and it's amazing, they all begin to whisper. How can they help it?"

I can recall one particular instance where Mark Hatfield agreed to come to my hometown of Springfield, IL. Each year on February 12, we have the Abraham Lincoln Association dinner, and we invite people who are in public life or who are historians and academics to come and talk about their impressions of some aspect of the life of Abraham Lincoln. I remember his speech because he spoke about a man named Edward Dickinson Baker.

Edward Dickinson Baker had served in the U.S. House of Representatives as a Congressman from Illinois from two separate congressional districts. He then moved to Oregon and became a Senator from the State of Oregon. He was a close friend of President Abraham Lincoln. He was killed early in the Civil War at the Battle of Ball's Bluff. His statue is one of the Oregon statues here in the Capitol Building.

Mark Hatfield came to tell a story of Edward Dickinson Baker and the friendship of Abraham Lincoln and the connection with Oregon. I went up to him afterward and said: There is another part of this story you might find interesting. After Abraham Lincoln served as a Congressman—he was given one term, which was the agreement with the Whigs back in Illinois. He wanted to stay on, but they said: No, you can't. So they offered him another job which he turned down before returning to Springfield to practice law, and that was the job to be the provincial Governor of Oregon, the territory of Oregon. Had Lincoln made that decision, history might have been a lot different for America. Hatfield and I laughed about that and the Oregon connection between Lincoln and Edward Dickinson Baker. He was an extraordinary man, Hatfield was, in that he not only admired Lincoln, but he studied him and the history of his life.

Mark was born in 1922, the son of a railroad blacksmith and a schoolteacher. He attended Willamette University in Salem, OR. He ran for the office of student body president—the only race he ever lost.

As a young Navy officer in World War II, Mark Hatfield was at both Okinawa and Iwo Jima, the two Pacific islands that were the scene of some of the bloodiest fighting of the war. Later, he was one of the first Americans to enter Hiroshima after the city was devastated by the first atomic bomb. Those experiences and his own reli-

gious views had a profound influence on his beliefs about the use of military power.

He was a lifelong foe of excessive arms buildup. He told the *Christian Science Monitor* in 1982:

There comes a time in a Nation's life when additional money spent for rockets and bombs, far from strengthening national security, will actually weaken national security—when there are people who are hungry and not fed, people who are cold and not clothed.

Mark Hatfield once castigated Democrats in the 1980s for not speaking up strongly enough about what he considered excessive military spending during the Ronald Reagan administration. He was the only Senator to have voted against the Vietnam war and the Persian Gulf war.

Politics wasn't his first calling. He was a college professor and then college president. In 1956, he was elected to the Oregon State Legislature, where he was instrumental in passing measures banning racial discrimination in housing and public accommodations—a decade before the government considered similar civil rights laws here in Washington. From there, it was a steady climb to State senator and secretary of state. In 1958, he was elected Governor, becoming the youngest ever in his State. He was reelected in 1962.

He successfully ran for the Senate in 1966 with a straightforward platform that included opposition to the Vietnam war. In all, he spent 30 years in this body, including 8 years as chairman of the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee. I remember him as chairman. When he would have conference committees, you could always count on Mark Hatfield to be genteel, courteous, and bipartisan. It was a great experience. Every conference committee was a great experience. The man really exuded fairness and integrity, and it is one of the reasons I wanted to come to the floor today and say a few words about how much he meant to me. When it came to particular issues on appropriations, he really focused on medical research, which was very important to him, and on efforts to eliminate poverty in the United States.

In 1995, he cast a historic vote. He was the only Republican to vote against a constitutional amendment to require a balanced Federal budget. His vote meant defeat for the measure because it fell one vote short for the two-thirds majority needed for passage. Senator Hatfield said he voted against the amendment for two reasons: because he believed it would starve social programs and tear deep holes in America's safety net and because it exempted defense and entitlement spending from cuts. Besides, he said, if Congress wanted a balanced budget, all it had to do was pass one.

Some younger Senators in his party were so angry at Hatfield for having cost them this balanced budget amendment that they set out to strip him of

his committee chairmanship as chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee. Luckily, that threat never materialized. Senator Mark Hatfield shrugged off their anger. He told a reporter:

I've been out of step most of my political life. So what else is new?

In the year after the balanced budget amendment vote, the Appropriations Committee, under Chairman Hatfield's leadership, went on to cut more than \$22 billion in discretionary nondefense spending from the budget. He wasn't opposed to spending cuts, but he didn't support a constitutional amendment.

I wish to offer my condolences to Senator Hatfield's wife Antoinette, who has been his partner for more than 50 years, and his children and grandchildren.

"Stand alone or come home"—that is the advice Mark Hatfield's father gave him about facing moral choices, and Mark Hatfield lived his life by that rule. Now he has gone home, and we are left to recall and celebrate the life and service of this good man.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I rise today to speak about the passing last month of Mark Hatfield, a former colleague of mine in the U.S. Senate whose service to the people of our great Nation and his beloved State of Oregon is truly noteworthy and continues to inspire public servants today, 15 years after his retirement in 1996 from the world's greatest deliberative body.

Indeed, service is the hallmark of Senator Hatfield's legacy; I know because I had the pleasure of serving alongside him for many years. Senator Hatfield served the people of Oregon as a State legislator, as their secretary of state, as their Governor, and as a U.S. Senator. The only election he ever lost was for student body president for his beloved alma mater, Willamette! Although that is a record any statesman can envy, it is more importantly, an example of public service we can all admire.

As a Senator, Mark Hatfield served the people of Oregon for 30 years—longer than anybody in the history of the State—and he served them well. He was an Oregonian through and through, and you could tell he loved his home State. He worked tirelessly for all Oregonians, regardless of their background or political persuasion.

As a young naval officer, Mark Hatfield experienced the battle of Iwo Jima and the aftermath of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima. These experiences had a profound and lifelong effect on Senator Hatfield. He hated war, but he always had respect for our servicemen and women. Senator Hatfield was also deeply religious, and relied upon his religious convictions and love for this country to guide him. He believed in America as what some call it, "a miracle of light."

Senator Hatfield and I did not always agree on everything, but we respected each other's views. I admired that Senator Hatfield always tried to find com-

mon ground with his fellow Senators. This made him a successful statesman and a respected individual on both sides of the aisle.

Today, I am honored to have the privilege to add my voice to the chorus of praise for this outstanding public servant whose service will long endure in the heads and hearts of all Americans, especially those who knew and had the pleasure of serving with him. My thoughts and prayers are with his family as they mourn the loss and celebrate the life of this great man.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I ask my colleagues to join me in honoring the memory of Mark Hatfield, a former Governor and U.S. Senator from the State of Oregon. Mr. Hatfield passed away on August 7, 2011, in Portland at the age of 89.

The son of a Baptist railroad blacksmith and a schoolteacher, Mr. Hatfield was born in Dallas, OR, on July 12, 1922. He graduated from Willamette University in 1943, having fast-tracked his studies so that he could enlist with the Naval Reserve.

As a young man, Mr. Hatfield served in World War II at the battles of Iwo Jima and Okinawa and later saw firsthand the devastation of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. These experiences shaped him personally and politically, and he became an outspoken advocate for peace, and a prominent opponent of the Vietnam war.

In 1966, Governor Hatfield stood alone in the National Governors Association when he voted against supporting the Vietnam war. And in 1970, as a Member of the U.S. Senate, he sponsored the McGovern-Hatfield amendment with Senator George McGovern of South Dakota, which would have created a deadline to end U.S. military action in Vietnam.

Senator Hatfield later was one of only two Republicans along with Senator CHARLES GRASSLEY of Iowa—to vote against the 1991 Senate resolution authorizing the first gulf war.

Mr. Hatfield will also be remembered as a leader in the fight against the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

In 1982, he introduced S.J. Res. 163—the nuclear freeze amendment—with Senator Edward Kennedy, which argued that "the greatest challenge facing the Earth is to prevent the occurrence of nuclear war by accident or design."

Had it passed, the resolution would have urged the United States and the Soviet Union to "pursue a complete halt to the nuclear arms race."

Senator Hatfield told the Christian Science Monitor, "We've developed the ability to destroy the planet, but that doesn't give us the right to destroy the planet."

Throughout his career in public service, Mr. Hatfield fought for what he believed was right, rather than walking any strict party line. He fought for peace, for civil rights, for the environment, and for medical research.

As chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee for two terms, he

supported increased budgets for the National Institutes of Health; fought for crucial social programs in a time of shrinking government; and was an early supporter of the Endangered Species Act.

As a dedicated, remarkable and outspoken public servant, Mark Hatfield's life was filled with a wide range of service and accomplishments. Early in his career, he said, "I pray for the integrity, justice and courage to vote the correct vote, not the political vote." It is clear he lived up to this principle and made extraordinary contributions to our nation and to the world. Our thoughts and prayers go out to his family. He will be missed.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I rise today to honor the life and legacy of Senator Mark Hatfield—a lifelong Oregonian, a genuine statesman, and a dedicated public servant. With a career in government that spanned nearly five decades, Mark leaves behind a legacy of service and a model of civility in American political life.

From the shores of Iwo Jima, to the halls of the statehouse in Salem, Oregon, and the Chamber of the U.S. Senate, Mark dedicated his life to our country. He served courageously as a naval officer in the Second World War in the Pacific theater. He was a notable lawmaker in the Oregon State Legislature, championing civil rights legislation in the 1950s well before the Federal Government's landmark efforts in that area. He also served as Oregon's secretary of state, and for two terms, he was a successful Governor. He went on to serve the people of Oregon as a U.S. Senator for three decades.

I knew Mark to be a man of decency, always civil in the way he conducted his business, and I believe that was his signature strength as a legislator. While Mark and I did not always agree, he was never disagreeable. He was principled and passionate about the things he believed to be true, but he was also respectful of those with whom he disagreed. His demeanor won him many friends and built many fruitful relationships on both sides of the aisle, making him a most effective legislator.

Upon retiring from the Senate in 1996, Mark reflected upon the nature of our country's politics, saying, "I'm going to miss the people, but not the process." He had grown disenchanted with the coarse partisanship that had warped the political process, and he knew that if we were to keep moving forward as a country, the vital center would have to hold, civility would have to prevail, and bipartisanship would have to return. Solutions do not come from gridlock. Bipartisanship has to win the day.

Since Mark retired from the Senate, our politics have become even more tribal. But I believe it would serve us all well, as we honor his life, to reflect upon the example he set—that disagreements do not have to become roadblocks but instead can be opportunities for innovative compromise.

I learned a great deal from Mark Hatfield during our time in the Senate together, and I am grateful for this opportunity to honor Mark's memory.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, I rise today to honor the life and legacy of Senator Mark Hatfield. He was a true giant, a man who placed principle above politics—doing what he felt was right for the people of Oregon and the Nation.

Senator Hatfield's life was one of service. He served as a naval officer during World War II. He fought in the battles of Iwo Jima and Okinawa. Later, he was one of the first Americans to see the effects of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. He served in the Oregon state legislature, as secretary of state and Governor, and then as Senator of the United States.

In the Senate, Senator Hatfield was known for his many accomplishments for the people of Oregon. He used his position on the Appropriations Committee, where he became chairman, to bring jobs and opportunity to his State. One of his greatest legacies is in foreign policy, nuclear disarmament, and in the pursuit of peace. Senator Hatfield was one of the first in the Senate to oppose the Vietnam war. He was a leader in the pursuit of nuclear disarmament, and he was a steadfast supporter of civil rights.

I was honored to serve with Senator Hatfield in the Senate and on the Appropriations Committee. We were neighbors on the 7th floor of the Hart Building. We worked together on many important issues, especially on international women's rights. As coastal Senators, we also worked together on jobs that affected both of our States—everything from fishery issues to saving jobs in the shrinking shipbuilding industry.

Senator Hatfield was a man of deep faith, known for putting his values into action. He was also a gentleman who accomplished so much for his State and his Nation. He will be greatly missed.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I would like to join those who have spoken or intend to speak about our former colleague Mark Hatfield.

Most people remember Mark as one of our party's most liberal members—as a Republican who called himself a liberal even after Democrats started avoiding the term.

I think he would like to have been remembered as someone who tried to bring people together or as he put it, as a reconciler.

He was, as we all know, a man of deep principle and compassion. He was also a gifted politician, to this day the longest serving Senator in Oregon history.

Mark was also deeply influenced by his experiences.

It is said his deep aversion to war derived, in part, from his experience as one of the first American servicemen to enter Hiroshima after the dropping of the atomic bomb.

Those of us who knew Mark as a colleague are glad to have had the chance

to know him and serve with him. And I would like to take this opportunity to extend my heartfelt condolences to Antoinette and the Hatfield children, as well as Mark's many grandchildren. America, and the Senate family, have lost a good man.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, this afternoon we heard tributes to former Senator Mark Hatfield from a bipartisan group of Senators. I would like to add to those tributes by including in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the eulogy that Senator Hatfield's son Visko delivered at his father's Memorial Service.

I ask unanimous consent that the following statement be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Good afternoon, thank you Dr. Ogilvie, Father Mike (Maslowski) amazing as usual, thank you. Pastor Ron (Kinkead), thank you. Thank you also to the Village Baptist church for providing this lovely sanctuary for today's Public Memorial.

I would like to thank the distinguished guests, former staff members, life-long friends, and complete strangers who have turned out today to honor my father.

It is remarkable to see the outpouring of love and support for the man we simply called Dad.

I have pondered this moment over and over in my head for a long time.

Would I speak? What would I say?

What could I possibly add to what has already been said about my father?

So many introductions, so much accolade, hundreds of honors, countless speeches, ground breaking ceremonies, ribbon cutting dedications, political campaigns, opinion pages, articles and books.

Words, words, words and more words, volumes of stories some true, some false and some, hybrids of both.

A dear friend advised me to share the personal side, share the family side, and share something close to my heart.

I thought to myself, I have shared enough. I have shared my childhood, I have shared my adolescence, and I have shared my adulthood.

My entire life, shared as a function of a public figure.

The tank is pretty empty, what more could I share?

So I thought about it and came up with the reoccurring question.

The question that, I have been asked throughout my life.

"What is it like to be a Senator's son?"

I used to quip that I really didn't know anything different he had always been a senator; except for the day I was born, when he was Governor of this state of Oregon.

The only time in my life I wasn't a Senator's son, I was a Governor's son.

What is it like to be a Senator's son?

To be in the public eye, under the microscope, in the spotlight.

What was it like to grow up under the weight of assumption and misconception, subject to the torment of political persuasion?

In the shadow of a figure so large and with the awesome responsibility of privilege, simply because the people of Oregon had given my father their faith in him every six years, five times.

What is it like to be a Senator's son?

I have been subpoenaed and compelled to testify in front of a Senate ethics com-

mittee. Grilled for five hours by government lawyers because someone thought my father had sold out his career and the people of Oregon.

I witnessed my mother's real estate business shredded, slowly, painfully and publicly, because someone thought my father had sold out his career and the people of Oregon.

I have been hugged by total strangers who shared very personal stories about how my father had changed their life, or how he had bestowed their Eagle Scout award, on them decades before.

In high school, I was walking a friend home after school. Trailing us were two Secret Service agents. The same two who had taken me to school earlier that morning, the same two who had sat in on classes and in the lunchroom with me.

Two men whose job it was to throw down their lives for mine. Not because mine was so important, but because the same nut case had threatened the life of the President of the United States and my father's life, in the same breath. While my father and mother were out of the country, the thinking was, the family would be the next, most likely target.

Agent Robert Alt, Agent Don and other members of the 24 hour protection detail, I will never forget the position you were in for two weeks because I am a senator's son.

Twelve years ago ran into friends, a couple from Oregon, on the street in New York. Even more than being delighted at our chance meeting, in a city of millions, they were giddy with the news that they had just seen my father's obituary at the New York Times.

With great surprise I informed them that I had just hung up the phone with him not 30 minutes earlier.

They proceeded to clarify that they had won and auction item—a tour of the New York Times offices. During the tour, they had seen the Obituaries of the notable and famous. Including my father's. Pre written, ready to go.

I remember one time at a photo studio in New York I was introduced by a friend, to an Art Director from Oregon. Upon hearing "Oregon" and "Hatfield," I could see the light bulb go on over the art director's head. The same connection, I had awkwardly embraced many times in my life, was made. He then asked in a definite and knowing voice . . . "are you related (I began nodding) to Tinker Hatfield?"

With great relief, I said, "no I am not."

No offense to the famed shoe designer at Nike.

What is it like to be a Senator's son?

I could tell you about the woman who came up to me when I was 12 years old. I was with my father on a re-election campaign swing thorough eastern Oregon. I was wearing a three-piece, brown velvet suit—in eastern Oregon . . . in July.

She had cornered me when I was alone. She waved her finger in my face and exclaimed "look at you in your fancy three piece suit all dressed up from the east coast. You know we have pretty girls here too, you just have to look for them hiding behind the sage brush."

I was stunned—where was the political playbook? What do I say? I smiled and assured her I would keep my eye out for girls hiding in the sage brush and I thanked her for coming to the "Meet Mark" spaghetti dinner to support my Dad.

One night at dinner at my home, I sat to the right of former president Nixon, a dinner that included a round table of official presidential historians. Nixon was brilliant, the man fielded question after question on every aspect of geopolitics, managed to eat his dinner and comment on how he fondly remembered my mother's steamed green beans, and

how happy he was that she had served them again that night.

He conjured a memory of a visit to Oregon when he was VP. My father, as governor greeted him at the airport. Dad wore a white trench coat, Nixon a black one. The former president said it was a smart move wearing white, because, when the front-page photo of the event was published the next day, it was my Dad who jumped off the page, not him.

What is it like to be a Senator's son?

Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter, Billy Graham, all guests in our home on separate occasions.

I have met Mother Theresa, Menachem Begin and the Pope.

I have flown onto the deck of an aircraft carrier, visited mental institutions, medical research centers, and courthouses.

Tom Brokaw wrote six simple pages about my father in his book, *The Greatest Generation*. I always liked Tom Brokaw and this book is amazing. It highlighted the few things and more of what my father told me the "one" time he spoke about his service in World War II. He spoke of how he was poised, as the Commander of an Amphibious Craft, for the invasion of mainland Japan. Of how if we had not dropped the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, he would more than likely never have made it to the shores of Japan alive.

He said the catharsis for him was in sharing his rations with Japanese children, after his mission changed from that of invader to clean up and relief operations, in the aftermath of the bomb. He showed me a few small porcelain pieces he had dug out of the rubble. Simple everyday objects, teacups and saucers.

I will always be grateful to the people of Japan for their sacrifice, because in doing so, one US Soldier made it back alive and went on to become my father and to spend nearly fifty years of public service, fighting for the lives of millions of people worldwide.

I would learn more about my father reading books and newspapers, than I would learn about him, from him, or so I thought.

Dad was the man who taught me to pray.

To say thank you, to give thanks and to be grateful, to give thanks for food, to give thanks for the blessings of the day.

The prayer: Inner voice as outer voice.

"God bless this food, in Jesus name amen." The kids' simple prayer around our table.

"Dear heavenly father we pray that you bless this food to the nourishment of out bodies and thus to thy service in Christ's name we pray. Amen." His simple version around our table.

I have heard Dad give thanks in front of thousands and in front of a few. Because he wanted to and because he was asked to.

His faith was remarkable. His prayers were soothing, thoughtful and kind.

I have gone to nearly every kind of church with my father. But one in particular stood out . . . a Baptist church.

When I was a teenager, Dad would come into my room and wake me up on a Sunday to go to church. Then he would come in again and wake me up again.

Often times he would come in with a look of incredulous disbelief, when it seemed as though I was not going to budge.

He would declare "I cannot believe you can't commit one hour of the week to the Lord."

Well "one hour" in those days at this particular Baptist church soon became about 35 minutes.

This was because when would arrive on time and take our seats, the minister, Pastor Maritz—had kind of squeaky voice and he would say—"I see we have Senator Hatfield in our congregation today, perhaps he would lead us in the pastoral prayer."—Privacy

shattered—Dad would rise and deliver, praying for all of us, for those less fortunate, for those in need, for our soldiers over seas, for our leaders to have strength and wisdom to make good decisions, to make better decisions.

Dad was fond of mixing church and state—in church—during prayer.

I believe he thought there was certain irony in doing so.

And that in church, he was a safe enough distance from those who might decry his faith and it's influence on him when it came to matters of state.

When he had given enough pastoral prayers we began arriving late to church, well after the pastoral prayer had been given. Pastor Maritz began to catch on. Being the smart Baptist that he was, he switched to asking dad to give the benediction.

Not long afterward Dad re-maneuvered, so we would arrive late AND then leave early. I felt okay with dedicating 35 minutes a week, to the Lord in Church.

What is it like to be a Senator's son?

I want to read a letter, which I opened and read to my father two years ago.

It was at a time when his health and his total awareness as we knew it began to fade. I believe it was during this phase, that his inner awareness was unwavering, was still intact.

The letter had been mailed to the MOH School of government at PSU and had been forwarded on to dad's home. It was written by Philip Millam.

(Read Letter)

I have had this letter on my desk for two years.

Forty Years this man carried the desire to thank my father. To tell Dad that with the simplest words "thank you . . . thank you for your service," that Dad had made this man's effort in an unpopular war, feel honorable. In the fewest of words he had lessened the feelings of animosity and of being marginalized.

It brought tears to my father's eyes and to mine. I was proud of my father and he knew it.

Mr. Millam I would like to respectfully ask you to stand up and to be recognized. For your service to our country, in the most difficult of circumstances, I would like to thank you. And for providing me with a memorable father and son moment, I would like to say Thank You.

What is it like to be a Senator's son?

Awe, Awareness, Anger.

Pride, Press and Privilege.

The realization that it is not about who I have met, where I have gone or what I have done.

It is to be witness to his impact on the lives of others.

Mark Odom Hatfield.

His life was never about the man or the name. To shower praise on it, to honor it, to chisel it granite or cast it in bronze or, to sully or demean it, or to criticize it, is missing the point.

The point of my father's existence was not to collect awards or praise, but rather, I believe, to teach a lesson.

The lesson is a simple one, yet too often overlooked.

The lesson is that we need to be kinder to one another, to help and to teach each other.

To honor and to respect one another.

Because long after the man is gone and the buildings are renamed or torn down, the lesson must live on in each of us.

The lesson from the teacher, from the servant leader.

The lesson in many instances was to stand up when others chose to sit, to speak out when others were silent. To find clarity when the noise was deafening. To forgive those who are unforgivable.

The lesson is to protect life at all stages of vulnerability, or as he used to say, in the womb, at the gallows and on the battlefield.

Dad taught me that it cannot be the selfish, it must be the selfless who make the world a better world.

Each one of us has a part to play,

Each one of us has influence on the other,

Each one of us has a responsibility to ourselves and in turn, to each other.

Dad never wanted to be a giant, he preferred to have giant impact. His were not the shoulders to stand on, his were foot steps to follow.

A few months ago in what we thought were Dad's final moments, it was late at night I was going into the second straight day at his bedside. I was holding his hand and telling him it was okay to let go, he had lived a good life and fought long enough, we would take care of mom.

It was during this time, he and I had a remarkable exchange.

At the time, he wasn't talking very much.

I asked him of there anything he needed or anything I could do.

He straightened up his leaning body and opened his eyes wide and he said.

"You need to save a life."

He asked me to save a life.

I said, "Whose life should I save?"

He said, "The first one you can."

There was a long pause, he was staring straight ahead, not blankly, but like he was seeing something that I wasn't.

I asked him what he was looking at, he said

"There are so many poor people and people who are hungry, who are on the doorstep."

I paused a while, wondering.

Then I asked him "what do they look like?"

Without hesitating, he said

"They look like us."

A glimpse at what it is like to be this senator's son.

It is a continual reminder that there is a calling to help where ever possible, a calling to open our eyes to people who we may think are different, or who we may think are less, than who we think we are.

It is a reminder for us to open our eyes to help people who others cannot see, or who others choose not to see.

Why?

Because they "look like us." They are in fact us.

I would like to take a moment and thank from the bottom of my heart, Dr. Francis Collins director of the NIH as well as Dr. John Gallin, director of the MOH clinical research center at NIH. Two men whose effort at sustaining human life and medical research continues to inspire.

I would like also like to thank my sister Elizabeth who for years has magnificently worn the titles of both doctor and daughter, through some of the most difficult times during our father's stages of declining health. You are a rock star of a doctor. And a fabulous sister.

Lastly, I would like to thank my mother Antoinette Hatfield, who for more decades than anyone, has stood by my father's side in life. She has made sacrifices most of us will never know, under more difficult circumstances than anyone should have to.

Always the matriarch, she is the woman behind the man, in front of the world.

Allow me to straighten your halo. You are an angel among us.

Visko Hatfield, August 14, 2011.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, I think we have seen in the last half hour, almost going on an hour, the enormous goodwill that Senator Hatfield generated in the Senate, with Democrats

and Republicans alike coming to the floor. I just wanted to wrap up with one last comment.

Senator Hatfield did not serve alone. He was accompanied through his extraordinary public service journey that we have heard discussed today on the Senate floor by a remarkable woman, Antoinette Hatfield. For those of us who knew Mrs. Hatfield, the only way we could sum her up would be to say: What a woman. Whip smart, boundless energy, persistent in a way that made it clear she was going to push hard for what was important, but always in a way that left you with a sense that she would be standing up for what was right and almost invariably with her husband standing up for our State.

My colleague in the Chair, the Presiding Officer, Senator MERKLEY, described his experiences with Senator Hatfield very eloquently. We have heard that from one Senator after another. But I thought it was appropriate this afternoon—as many Senators knew Mrs. Hatfield and, I think, share my views—and important to note that Senator Hatfield often said—and my colleague will recall it as well—he could not have made the contributions to Oregon without having at his side, having the good counsel, enjoying the affection of this wonderful woman, Antoinette Hatfield.

So as the Oregon delegation in the Senate wraps up these tributes, we simply want to acknowledge not just Senator Hatfield's contributions but the chance we have had to be with Mrs. Hatfield in work situations and personal situations, and we wish to express our gratitude for all she has done for decades now working with her husband, working with Oregonians to make Oregon a better place.

This afternoon, Antoinette Hatfield, as well as her late husband, has our undying gratitude.

Mr. President, with that, I yield the floor, and I note the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MERKLEY). The clerk will call the roll. The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEAHY-SMITH AMERICA INVENTS ACT

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the remaining time postcloture be yielded back, and the motion to proceed to H.R. 1249, the America Invents Act, be agreed to; that there be debate only on the bill until 5 p.m., and at 5 p.m. the majority leader be recognized.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

The Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. PAUL. I ask that the unanimous consent request be modified so once we

are on the bill I can offer an amendment related to the Secretary of the Treasury and that a vote on that issue be reported.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I object to my friend's request. I ask that once we get on the bill that the Senator from Kentucky, Mr. PAUL, be recognized to speak for up to 10 minutes in order to explain the amendment that he had hoped to offer and will offer at some point in the future.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request as so modified?

Mr. REID. I modify my request to that effect.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The clerk will report the bill.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 1249) to amend title 35, United States Code, to provide for patent reform.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. President, they say the definition of insanity is doing the same thing over and over and expecting a different result. We now have been in 3 years of a policy that is not working. Joblessness is up and our debt has been downgraded. Our country is on a precipice, and yet we continue with the same people giving the same ideas that are not working. It is important to know how we got here.

We are in a great recession, the worst recession since the Great Depression. How did we get here? We got here through bad economic policy and bad monetary policy. This policy originated with Timothy Geithner when he was at the Federal Reserve in New York. It originated with Ben Bernanke, the head of the Federal Reserve.

What did we do? We reappointed these people to higher office. They say the definition of insanity is doing the same thing over and over and expecting a different result.

I would respectfully ask at this point we have a vote in the Senate. I think the American people have given a vote of no confidence to the Secretary of the Treasury. I think the American investors and worldwide investors have given a vote of no confidence to the debt ceiling deal and to what has been going on.

Over and over we are doing the same policy. We have now appointed as head of the Council of Economic Advisers someone who brought us Cash for Clunkers. We spent \$1 trillion—money we don't have—trying to stimulate the economy and unemployment is worse. Gas prices have doubled. Economic growth is anemic, if at all. We are in the process, perhaps, of sliding into another recession and something has to be different. We cannot keep doing the same thing over and over and expecting a different result.

For the first time in our history our debt has been downgraded. This came after a policy that came from the Secretary of the Treasury and from this administration. It came from a deal

the American people and the world public, world class of investors, judged and deemed to be inadequate.

This country needs a shakeup. We need new ideas. We need different propositions. The same propositions, the same tired, old proposals are not working. We are set during this administration to accumulate more debt than with all 43 previous Presidents combined. We are accumulating debt at \$40,000 a second. We are spending money at \$100,000 a second.

When a policy doesn't work, we need new policy leaders. There will not be a new President until 2012, but this President could choose new advisers because the advice he has been getting is not working. We are languishing. We are on the precipice of possibly going into another recession, and I would suggest at this point we need a new Secretary of the Treasury.

How did we get into this problem? We got into this problem because we had a housing boom. This came from bad monetary policy. It came from the Federal Reserve setting interest rates below the market rate, and that signal was transmitted out into the economy and we got a housing boom. Then we had a housing depression. We are still in the midst of a housing depression.

Where did that policy come from? That policy came from Secretary Geithner and Ben Bernanke.

What have we done? We have reappointed these people and reapproved their policies that got us into the problem in the first place. If we want our country to thrive again, we must diagnose the problem correctly before we try to fix it. Because they didn't understand how we got into this recession, they also passed a whole bunch of new regulations. The Dodd-Frank bill heaps all kinds of new regulations that make it harder to get a home loan.

In the midst of a housing depression, we have heaped all these new rules on community banks. You know what? In my State of Kentucky, not one bank failed. The problem is at the Federal Reserve. The problem is with the policy. The problem is with the people we still have running this country and advising the President.

What I am asking for today is a vote of no confidence on Timothy Geithner. I see no reason and no objective evidence that any of his policies are succeeding. I have come to the floor today to ask for this vote, and we will continue to try to get this vote. We have introduced a resolution in favor of voting a vote of no confidence on Timothy Geithner, and I hope this body will consider it.

I yield back the remainder of my time and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.